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INDIAN INVENTION OF NEW-WORLD FOODS
and
BREAKFAST AT TANASQUI

By

Elsworth Brown

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6 Biology Building
University of Tennessee
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INDIAN INVENTION OF NEW-WORLD FOODS

"When do we eat?"

Asked in Cherokee, Aztec, or in modern American English, here is one basic and never waning interest of man.

Whatever else claims our attention, three times a day we are concerned with food. We, and all mankind before us, have this interest in common.

Sole dependence on the wild foods described in the first paper of this series ("Indian Foods from the Wild") kept primitive man on the move. Craving physical relaxation, or pursuit of the arts, or mere self amusement, he must keep hunting, moving on, and never sure until he bagged the game or gathered the nuts where tomorrow's meals were coming from.

Entering what was to them the New Eastern World, the immigrants from across Bering Strait had to continue breaking trail in order to eat. Thus, deep penetration of the hemisphere was effected, and only the successful hunter survived. Perhaps for thousands of years, no other idea of means of existence entered the head of this hunter-pioneer. To live was to hunt and travel onward -- struggle on and on without let-up until death.

By such economy -- subsistence upon food from the wild -- the western hemisphere was populated. After an indeterminable elapse of time, some hunters began to encroach on other hunters and were thrown back upon already hunted-over forest. With the very prosperity their hunting had brought them, numbers of mouths to be fed naturally increased. The more dependents there were, the more desirable it was to move about less to hunt wild food; yet obviously more and more dependable sources of food in variety must be found. Natural groups -- we may call them "families" -- claimed territories for their living where it first appeared that wild foods were sufficient. Soon their increase in numbers made them think again. Many moved to another place, but finding less than they required were driven to dreaming of a better living than hunting was providing. We may imagine, I believe, that when at first the forest yielded too little of some nutritious plant seed, or some fruit, or succulent leaf, the food-gathering groups began substitutions. Other wild plants not heretofore used for food would be tried and perhaps added to the menu if they served to stave off hunger. Many useful plant and animal foods were thus discovered.

Good as it was for awhile, there was limitation to discovery of substitute foods. But the demand "When do we eat?" ever continued as populations increased. "When do we eat?" -- repeated millions of times in man's mind, whetted by hunger and longing for security, finally brought about the beginning of agriculture, a new system of food supply. The American Indian began agriculture with his finger, then picked up and sharpened a stick as an extension of his finger, and used the stick to make a hole in the ground and cover seeds of wild food plants. At first he was merely helping the forest to feed him better. Later he came forth with a crude hoe for more efficient farming; but the plow of the Old World did not appear here -- the Indian had no domestic animals to draw it.

The Indian utilized his stone axe for girdling trees, and fire for felling

them and for clearing grass and shrub growths near the village. He controlled weeds by pulling them up -- still the best way. For him, a new era in food production was beginning.

It was not a difficult step for the Indian to take when he began to bring nearer the village some of the preferred wild fruits thriving in his territorial section of the primeval forest. And on migrations, he found he could carry some of them far from their native habitats.

The pawpaw or custard-apple, for example, provided a popular fruit-food in the tropics. North-migrating Indians carried it into the lower Mississippi Valley. As a fast growing shrub and small tree, it required little labor to propagate the custard-apple along rivers and creeks where most of the villages were located for convenience of fishing and canoe transportation. By burning down the river birch, the ash, the sycamore and other non-fruit-bearing trees near where they landed their canoes, the Indians could have annual crops of the luscious custard-apple a few years after scratching in the seeds. The custard-apple was seen to survive farther and farther, even to the St. Lawrence River. Thus the Indian learned to replace some of the native trees which did not furnish food fruits, with other trees, vines and shrubs which did bear nutritious fruits, and by such labor increased his food supply both in volume and variety. Today, groups of custard-apple trees -- the pawpaw (*Asimina triloba* L.) linger in wooded areas along rivers and creeks to tell us that once an Indian village was near, and if we search we may find artifacts and the actual village site. There are now, of course, many pawpaws apart, and downstream, and hence unassociated with such ancient village sites; but long ago the Indians carried them upstream throughout most of the Mississippi system.

A somewhat similar movement apparently had much to do with distributing sunflowers over the whole United States. Sunflower seeds are rich in a vegetable oil. They are greatly liked by many birds and animals. As the Indians planted and cared for them, and harvested the seeds, they occasionally came upon sunflowers which produced more and larger seeds than others, and these they saved for next year's planting. This was putting agricultural plant selection into practice. We still may find tiny wild sunflowers, particularly along ancient trails and balds on mountain tops, to remind us of how the Indian improved the sunflower by selection until the great seed-bearing discs on head-high stems evolved.

Does the expression "invention of food" sound fantastic to you? Had you realized that we may get foods like that? As we get useful gadgets like the electric light and the radio? Is it really true that some of the vegetable mainstays of our present-day diet were "invented?" Invented like the vacuum cleaner was invented? Invented and elaborately improved and finally streamlined like the automobile? Such an invention is corn. The botanist calls it *Zea Maiz* from the Indian's word for corn -- maize. Corn -- Indian corn -- is the most important food plant in America. (1) There is no "European corn," no "Asiatic corn," no "African corn," there is no wild corn anywhere -- and there never was any wild corn, as such. Corn was invented by the Indians, developed, or made, out of -- no botanist can definitely say what.

Corn is wholly dependent on man for its existence and without man's care would immediately become extinct. It cannot survive by any natural means commonly employed by other plants for their self-propagation year after year. Corn has no natural means of seed distribution for reproduction or for protection of its seed from wild animals. "The ear of corn," writes Mangelsdorf (1),

"has no counterpart anywhere else in the plant kingdom." He means that it is highly specialized, adapted to man's convenience rather than to its own self-perpetuation.

As the most important food plant at present in America, it is not that we eat so much corn as bread or cereal, but that so much corn is transformed into meat, milk, eggs and other animal products.

Corn provided the Indian with a bountiful supply of protein, fat and starch (carbohydrates), that could be stored in compact form and kept without change through the whole year, or even longer if needed. He could trade his surplus corn and obtain in exchange many other foods from his neighbors. He could have corn in variety for different purposes -- dent corn, flint corn, flour corn, sweet corn and pop corn. Four varieties of corn were found growing in the Illinois country when the first white men went there. One of them was sugar corn.

The mystery of corn slowly is being penetrated by agricultural research botanists. In 1949, archaeologists excavating Bat Cave, New Mexico, found an ear of corn which scientifically can be dated about 2,000 B.C. (2) The grains had fallen off or had been removed, but the rest of the ear was intact. This ancient ear of corn now reposes in the Harvard Botanical Museum, and has been of great assistance to scientists in their attempts to piece together the story of the early development of corn. For instance, each grain on the Bat Cave ear had its own individual "shuck," and there was no orderly arrangement of the grains in rows. In size, it was a miniature compared with the ears of most of the modern corn varieties. Just about 3 inches long. (Charred cobs smaller than this have been found in prehistoric Tennessee sites, and are in the University of Tennessee documented collections.)

But even as far back as the first days of the habitation of Bat Cave, corn was "modeled" to suit various places, and its season of growth was made to conform to various latitudes. The Indian agriculturists adapted it, by years of trial, crossing, and selection, to the lengths of the growing seasons prevailing from the tip of South America to the northland which we know today as Canada. They selected and adapted it for fullest growth along tropical seacoasts and on up the heights of the Andes, and from the hot New Mexican desert borders to the chilly atmosphere of Lake Titicaca, elevation 12,700 feet, between Bolivia and Peru.

Different botanists who have been intrigued by the mystery of Indian corn have proposed various theories as to what grasses the original agriculturalists employed in the "foundations" they laid for this great invention. Some say that Teosinte was the starting point. Teosinte is a grass which has separate tassels and ears, but the ears bear only five or six seeds, each in a hard, bony shell. Many believe Teosinte to be a product of the hybridization of corn and a grass called *Tripsacum*. (3)

A few years ago it was found that pop corn existed from the earliest times of corn production. There is some evidence, in fact, that the earliest form might have been pop corn.

The point on which there is agreement is that corn first was produced by the crossing of some tropical grasses. Whether southeastern Asia furnished these grasses or whether they were natives of Mexico, or Central America, or South America, is controversial. If of Asian origin, did the migrating "Indians"

bring them over here, propagating them as cereal grasses or grain plants long before beginning to improve them and incorporate them into the bigger and better corn? You may now begin to see what a problem confronts the botanists who are studying the origin of corn.

Just as the Roman chariot has been brought up through centuries of change, constantly making it a better vehicle, until the present-day automobile came down the assembly line, so corn was invented and improved, step by step, as such improvement was conceived in the mind of man. And that man was the Indian.

The specially adapted varieties were for thousands of years traded and stolen from valley to valley until distribution was truly Pan-American. The white man found out about the great invention on November 5, 1492, when two Spaniards whom Columbus had sent into the interior of Cuba reported to him that the Indians there had "a sort of grain they call maiz which was well tasted, bak'd, dry'd, and made into flour." (1) Certainly here was news of "a cereal treasure of immensely greater value than the spices which Columbus traveled so far to seek." (4) At that time, according to Macgowan (5) at least 700 varieties of corn were being grown in "widely varied areas of the western hemisphere."

A few years ago, a Russian scientific agricultural commission came to the Americas to study corn and other native food plants. These investigators were reported to have collected 8,000 varieties of corn, (4) and on return to Russia distributed seed corn already adapted for the many different agricultural conditions prevailing throughout European Russia and Siberia in Asia.

For the Gaspé Peninsular in Quebec, there is a variety of corn which matures in two months. For Colombia, there is a variety that requires ten or eleven months. There are varieties which will grow on the semi-arid plains of Russia where the annual rainfall is less than 7 inches, and a variety that thrives in the more than 200 inches of rain falling annually in the tropics of Hindustan. (4)

The widespread growing of hybrid corn in the United States has greatly increased production per acre, but it could result in the disappearance of the open-pollinated varieties from which all the inbred strains are derived. "The loss of the original sources of breeding material," writes Mangelsdorf (6), "would mean not only that improvement of the present strains would be restricted but that new types of hybrid corn could not be developed to cope with new diseases or insect pests suddenly become rampant." To offset this danger, the United States Department of Agriculture has set out to collect at least 2,000 useful varieties, the seed of which will be kept in cold storage and replanted often enough to maintain a viable stock. This seed bank will serve as a reservoir of hereditary qualities for use by corn breeders and will perpetuate the best of the work of the ancient Indian agricultural pioneers.

The white potato is older than corn. (*Solanum tuberosum* L.) Botanists probing its antiquity are not in agreement whether it was wholly invented, like corn, from the crossing and selection of certain plants, or whether it was developed from a wild potato which has become extinct or at least never has been found. Some botanists hope to find the original wild potato; others tell us that the white potato was produced by the crossing of Solanaceous plants like nightshade, jimson weed, tobacco, and others. (5) Spanish explorers found the potato in South America; it probably originated in the Andes of Peru. It was introduced in Europe from 1565 to 1585 and rapidly replaced much of the grain production. Ireland became so dependent on the potato that when the

blight struck the crop of 1846 a famine occurred. Introduction of the potato in this country was from the Old World.

The foods from crops of cultivated plants which present-day Americans have acquired or adapted from the agriculture of the Indian are concisely listed below, in accordance with Macgowan's "Early Man in the New World," published by The Macmillan Company:

Maize (Indian corn)	White potato
Sweet potato	Tomato
Pumpkin	Squash
Peanut	Lima bean
Kidney bean	Tepary bean
Chili pepper	Cacao (for chocolate)
Agave (for pulque)	Sunflower seed
Custard-apple	Pineapple
Chayote (vegetable)	Quinoa (cereal)
Strawberry	Arracacha (root)
Avocado	Manioc (for tapioca)
Jerusalem artichoke	

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BREAKFAST AT TANASQUI

A few years ago, this chapter's program chairman assigned me to discuss the archaeology of food in the western hemisphere. He left the subject just that broad, so that I responded with a study of the general prehistory of plant, animal, and mineral food sources, giving lists of kinds of food and rather sketchy description of its preparation by various tribes in North, Central and South America. (1)

I remember regretting that the scope and time limitations kept me from mentioning some of the food usages of the prehistoric inhabitants of the southeastern United States which, it seemed to me, might be more interesting and more likely to be remembered than the long list of kinds of food which I had abstracted from the literature. Tonight I am glad to have the opportunity to devote some detailed references to the food of this particular area in the dark, little known times just before and during the time when the white Europeans first began coming over to take possession of this part of America. I shall limit the subject to the varieties of foods employed in this -- the Tennessee -- valley.

In localizing this study of food usages, I am playing with the name "Tanasqui" (T-a-n-a-s-q-u-i) to identify a town of some prominence in the sixteenth century. The ethnologist John R. Swanton says, in his "Indians of the Southeastern States," published in 1946 by the United States government, that Chattanooga is the present-day landmark to which ancient Tanasqui may be referred. (2) You will remember that Guasili, Canasoga and Chiaha were on De Soto's route in 1540, but none of the De Soto narratives mentions Tanasqui. A large part of De Soto's course through this area was retraced, early in 1567, by Captain Juan Pardo with a detachment of a Spanish expeditionary force which had landed and built a fort at Santa Elena, (3, 5) the site being approximately that of present-day Port Royal, not far above Savannah, Georgia.

Let's read from Swanton: "One notable difference between the experiences of De Soto and Pardo in this region is the discovery by the latter of a stockaded town called Tanasqui three days' march from Cauchi and one day before arriving at Chiaha." ¹ "Cauchi" is a synonym for Canasoga -- on the north bank of Hiwassee River in Polk County, Tennessee. ² "Either De Soto missed it entirely or it was not settled until after 1540." (4)

Pardo's narrative has higher acceptance quality than almost anything De Soto's survivors wrote. James Mooney (5) knew it contained highly important information, but it remained for John R. Swanton to interpret for us its real geographical significance. Criticism -- of which we have had much -- of the official location (6) of De Soto's Chiaha on Burns island in Marion County, Tennessee, becomes quiescent upon exposition of the records of the administration of Pedro Menendez de Aviles in this very early part of the kingdom of Florida. Thanks to him, Juan de la Vandera (24) took pen in hand at Santa Elena and wrote the story while it was fresh, and it is delightfully supplemented for us by a supporting report from Pardo's lieutenant, Boyano, who had conducted a "branch expedition" into the Tennessee and North Carolina mountains at the head of Hiwassee river.

The existent De Soto and Pardo narratives give us our farthest-back historical springboard from which we may now jump off into "armchair" archaeological inquiry.

Despite Pardo's good account, Tanasqui is indeed a dim ghost town today. Its exact location here is immaterial to the intentional theme of this paper, but we shall take a slight digression to speculate upon its being the town the remains of which give Citico, on the Riverside Drive, its archaeological significance; or Tanasqui could have extended over both Citico and Chattanooga Island. Or it might have been as far up as Sawtee on the Yarnell farm, or right upstream from the Chickamauga Dam, or even down at the mouth of Chattanooga creek in what is now North Saint Elmo. A shortening of "Tanasqui" may have resulted in "Tanasi" -- an early English form of "Tennessee," or it may have been corrupted into "Tallassee," but Swanton says there is a possibility that "Tallassee" merely is a phonetic shortening of "Talwa ahassi" which simply meant "old town." (8) Tanasqui may be a Yuchi name, but the ethnologists have not found a meaning for it, leaving us to assume that it is a traditional word-sound, handed down so long that its origin has been lost. The spelling presently used, sanctioned by Mooney and accepted by Swanton, is suggestive of French influence, but for which there is no documentation.

Now having re-established, at least for our present purpose, the Tennessee river town of Tanasqui, how about breakfast -- "breakfast at Tanasqui?"

Not having blasts from factory whistles, time-clocks to punch or school-bells' ringing, primitive people here didn't bother much about regular meal-hours. That's probably too well known to be discussed before this group.

When hungry, and food was available, they ate -- broke their fasts. Whether so designated or not, most of the meals were "breakfasts," for the urgency of appetite was ever present. Robert Beverly wrote in 1705 that the Indians in earliest Virginia "have no other Sauce but a good Stomach, which they seldom want." (9) Tanasqui really may have been at the mouth of the creek in North Saint Elmo, and left something of its aboriginal spirit; for among the nine restaurants and public eating places out there on South Broad Street, four or five of them display to tourists signs reading "Breakfast served at any hour."

But breakfast in Tanasqui town was not a monotonous coffee-toast-and-eggs affair, like we seem about to degenerate to upon starting the day. In archaic times it was an honest-to-goodness breaking of a fast. The "fasts" were economic necessities. The cupboard was too often bare.

Season was the dominant factor determining "what shall we eat?" before our present-day economic enrichment began. We hardly ever think of "season" any more, except as to a few less important food items, like watermelon, cantaloupe, raw peaches, etc.

But for Tanasqui, and everywhere else in North America in primeval days, season determined what one should expect for breakfast, and much work was required to bring the food to the table. "Their Bread," wrote Martin Schneider, Moravian missionary at the rarely visited Cherokee town of Kaiatee on the Tellico in 1784, "is generally a mixture of pounded Indian Corn, Beans and roasted Pumpkins. At which they have the Method, that they boil the Indian Corn first a little & then pound it. The richer People cleanse it still thro' a fine sieve of Reed, whereby they produce as fine Flour as any Miller,

but they can scarce prepare as much in a forenoon as they consume the rest of the Day." (10)

Each season had its characteristic food, beginning as soon as that food became available and ended either when that food ran out or an equally important food item began to become available. For instance, when frost ended the agricultural growing season and "fresh" vegetable foods no longer were to be had, the great winter hunting season opened and all the competent hunters "went to the woods" as the Cherokee would say. (11) Their wives and children often accompanied them, kept camp close to the scene of the hunt, and prepared the fresh meat and dressed the skins for clothing and trade.

Early explorers reported different practices among different tribes with respect to the calendar. In the southeastern United States, the calendar was about as logically determined as our own, today. Their days, as to length, were like ours, natural days -- sunrise to sunrise, or sunset to sunset. But there was no corresponding conception of months. Our months, you know, are artificial divisions of the natural year. Instead of months, as we know them, the early Americans observed natural seasons.

When the Creek Indians were here, this time of year (12) was the season of "Big Chestnut," -- "Little Chestnut" having corresponded to our September. Iholi or "Change in Weather" came in what we would have called November, and "Big Winter" fell in December. "Little Winter" was January, and "Wind Month" was February, and "Little Spring" was March. "Big Spring" was April, and the period which we would designate as May was "Mulberry" to the Creeks, and our June was their "Blackberry." "Little Warmth" or "Little Ripening" was their July, and August was "Big Ripening" or "Much Heat."

The Natchez, according to Du Pratz, (13) had seasons like the moon of the "Little Corn," about the same as our May, and their "Mulberry" or sixth moon was our August. The seventh moon was that of the "Great Corn," and a moon they called "Turkey" corresponded to our October. The "Bears" was their tenth moon, and others were "Cold Meal," "Chestnuts," and "Nuts." Perhaps these last three names, says Swanton, (14) were given winter months because the "larder was low and such foods then assumed an importance not ordinarily enjoyed by them."

The hunt and agriculture contributed about equally the food requirement of the former inhabitants of the Tennessee Valley. Venison was the No. 1 flesh food (15) and maize (Indian corn) the dominant agricultural product. (16) For hundreds of years back, neither flesh meat nor vegetable was exclusively the diet. The farther north the people lived, the more meat was eaten because the vegetable growing season was the shorter and meat-keeping conditions more favorable. The farther south, the longer growing season provided vegetables and fruits more lavishly, and killed animal flesh quickly became inedible. It may be remarked, however, by way of comment right here, that federal meat inspection regulations were still far in the future; and many carcasses, then considered acceptable, we would reject today. (17) In fact, some "ripening" was even esteemed delectable. This taste for the early stage of deterioration extended to some of the vegetable preparations -- notable hominy, a watery suspension of pounded grains of maize. It was better, some thought, when it had become "blinky" -- meaning fermented. Reverting to the journal of Martin Schneider, (10) who had been a guest of a representative Cherokee family at Kaiatee, there is an entry for January 5, 1784, to the effect that "Their most common, & for us their worse Tasted Dish, is Hominy, which they let grow sour."

Which reminds us that the doomed Paul Demere, commandant of Fort Loudoun, wrote Governor Lyttleton of South Carolina, on April 2, 1758, that "the sower [sour] Hominy, the great Conjuror of Chote," had just paid him a visit and was all pepped up to take off on the warpath. (18)

The making of bread from grain goes back as far as any evidence can be found. Some so-called breads were made from inner barks of certain trees, and from the pulp of fruits; but bread from pounded-up grain was the principal subsistence item to far, far back, in all of this part of North America. From the accounts of De Soto's followers, bread was the staple item of subsistence in Chiaha, on what we now call Burns island, when he rested there. John Haywood's quaint "Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee," published in 1823, contains the following passage about De Soto's trip through here: (19) "Thence they marched to the Chiaha, the houses began to be covered with reeds like tiles. Those they had passed were thatched with straw, some had walls daubed with clay. Every Indian had a house for the winter, daubed with clay within and without, and the door was small. They shut it at night and made a fire within; and it was as warm as a stove. They had others for summer; and their kitchens near them, where they made their fire and baked their bread. And they had barbaccas in which they kept their grain; which were houses set upon four sticks, boarded like a chamber, and the floor was of cane hurdles. . . ."

Haywood has another account of how, at the very beginning of De Soto's march, the king of Ocute (in peninsular Florida) "sent him a present of conies, partridges, corn bread, two hens and many dogs. He traveled till he came to a forest of pines. With great difficulty they discovered a town, in which was a storehouse full of flour ground from parched maize." (20)

"History of Carolina," written by John Lawson and published in London in 1714, and revised and added to by Dr. John Brickell and published in Dublin in 1737, purported to describe primitive Indians, from the viewpoint of a physician, including the Indians then living in what is now eastern Tennessee. Dr. Brickell was attentive to diet, and thereby qualifies for one of the authorities to be quoted in this paper. Although he was fiercely condemned for copying more from Lawson than he wrote for himself, in his "Natural History of North Carolina," Dr. Brickell's observations with respect to foods and food preparations are of weighty quality because of the "M.D." which appears after his name in the title page of his book. (21)

"The Men never beat their Corn to make Bread," observed the doctor, "that is the Women's Work, and especially the Girls, where you shall see four of them beating with long Pestils in a narrow wooden Mortar, and every one keeping her stroke so exactly, that it is worthy of admiration, and curious to behold them when they are thus at Work; for these Indians have no manner of Mills, or any other way to make their Meal but with Mortars.

"Their Cookery continues from Morning till Night, dressing their Venison after different Methods, according to each one's Fancy, this being the Women's business: The Hunting makes them Hungry, and they are a People that eat very often, and frequently get up at Midnight, and other unseasonable Hours to eat and satisfy their craving Appetites, notwithstanding you shall never see any of them Corpulent or Fat. . . .

"In some parts of this Province, especially near the Mountains, . . . they have several hundred Gallons of Pigeon's Oil or Fat, which they preserve

for their Winter Stores, using it with their Pulse, Roots, and Bread, as we do Butter: These Fowl are so plenty, that Millions of them are seen in Flocks in a Day, they sometimes break large Boughs of the Pine, and other Trees whereon they perch or roost at Night . . . The Indians take a Light of Pitch-Pine in one Hand, a long Pole in the other, and go into the Woods at Night where they are, and kill thousands of them by knocking them off the Trees. . . ."

Dr. Brickell's residence was in Edenton, North Carolina. To observe some of the Indians who had not been in contact with the white settlers, Dr. Brickell organized an expedition consisting of ten white men and two Indians and set out during the latter part of February 1730, for the Cherokee mountains. This should have brought him into or very near what is now the eastern edge of Tennessee.

"In some Places," (22) he wrote, "these Savages Boil and Roast their Meat extraordinary well, and eat abundance of Broath except those Savages whom we call the Naked Indians, who never make use of any Soup. These travel from the Banks of the Mississippi to War against the Sinagars or Iroquois Indians, and are commonly too hard for them except they are over power'd by unequal Numbers. These naked Indians will lye and sleep in the Woods without any Fire or covering, being inur'd thereto from their Infancy. They are the most hardy of all Indians that are known, and run so fast that they are never taken by any other Indians that pursue them. Their Enemies say that their Nimbleness and long Wind proceeds from their never making use of any Broath.

"The Salts that the Indians in these parts make use of in their Meat, Bread, and Soup, to give them a grateful relish are Alkalies, viz, Ashes made of the Wood of Hickery and calcin'd Bones of Deers and other Animals. They never eat any Sallads, and as for Pepper, and Mustard, they imagine us to be no better than Madmen to make use of them at our Victuals."

Ages ago, Europeans accepted certain cereals from Asia, and made them into bread, their "staff of life." After improving them through hundreds of years of production and use, these originally Asiatic grains were brought by Europeans to new-found America.

Take the story of wheat: It originated in Asia, probably having been developed from some of the grasses of India by means of selection and hybridization at the hand of primitive farmers. We can hardly be as definite about American corn. Maize is so completely and distantly removed from its original wild state that it no longer can survive without the careful assistance of man. We discussed the mysterious origin and distribution of corn before this organization back in 1951, and no repetition is intended tonight.

But wheat of Asia did by long process reach America, was introduced here at the very dawn of our local history, and the United States has become the largest wheat-producing country on earth. We may surmise that its introduction was intended to help sustain a Spanish expeditionary force during conquests in the Tennessee Valley and ultimately to improve the native agriculture for the advantage of proposed colonization of Florida's great northwestern hinterland. This second objective certainly was not accomplished at that time, or even well begun.

But the fact of the first planting is set out in a document by Martinez. (7)

It is a detail of the Spanish earliest history of the Tennessee Valley.

This event is so far back that it touches that dim curtain marking where archaeological research brings clear documentation of date and pinpointing of place to push back the very dawn of written history.

"East is east and west is west, and ne'r the twain shall meet" was not written about the age-long processes by which man, through agriculture, selects from far-flung fields the foods with which to break his fast.

Therefore it seems time to beat a drum!

Time to erect a monument over in Marion County, and grave on it that Lieutenant Boyano, when he had built tiny Fort Santa Elena for his temporary security at Chiaha, early in 1567, went out on the island and planted wheat and barley where Indian corn had grown before. (23)

NOTE: The locations of the various towns mentioned in this paper are still extremely debatable in spite of Swanton's analysis of the De Soto and Pardo itineraries.

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- (8) Swanton (2), page 68.
- (9) Beverly, Robert: History and Present State of Virginia, London, 1705, book 3, page 13, as quoted by Swanton (2), page 368.

- (10) Williams, Samuel Cole: Early Travels in the Tennessee Country, Johnson City, Tennessee, The Wautauga Press, 1928; page 257.
- (11) "Went to the woods" frequently appears in the Fort Loudoun correspondence file from 1756 through 1760, mainly in intelligence reports and correspondence relative to efforts to recruit the Cherokee Indians for military service in Virginia. It means "gone hunting," and hence unavailable. E.B.
- (12) Swan, Caleb: Position and State of Manners in the Creek Nation in 1791. In Schoolcraft: Indians Tribes, Volume 5, pages 251-283 as quoted by Swanton (2), page 262.
- (13) Le Page du Pratz, Antoine S.: Historie de la Louisiane, Paris, 1758, (three volumes), Volume 2, pages 354-383. Swanton (2) quotes on page 260.
- (14) Swanton (2), page 261.
- (15) Ibid., page 249.
- (16) Adair, James: History of the American Indians, Williams edition, Johnson City, Tennessee, The Wautauga Press, 1930; page 437.
- (17) Swanton (2), page 368.
- (18) South Carolina Colony Indian Affairs, Vol. 6: typewritten in triplicate in Archives of the Fort Loudoun Association, Vonore, Tenn.
- (19) Haywood, John: Natural and Aboriginal History of Tennessee, Nashville, Tennessee; George Wilson, Printer; 1823; page 108.
- (20) Ibid., page 109.
- (21) Brickell, John: Natural History of North Carolina, Dublin, Ireland; James Carson, Printer; 1737. Reprint edition, North Carolina Trustees of the Public Libraries, no date; pages 362-363.
- (22) Ibid., page 401.
- (23) Swanton (2), page 65. Lieutenant Boyano commanded a small detachment of the Pardo expeditionary force.
- (24) Swanton (2), page 65. Vandera wrote in 1569. Vandera, Joan de la: Memoria. En que se Hace Relacion de los Lugares y Tierra de la Florida por Doude el Capitan Juan Pardo Entro a Describrir Camino para Nueva Espana por los Anos de 1566, 1567. (In French, B. F., Hist. Coll. La. and Fla., 2nd ser., pp. 289-292, New York, 1875.)

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in the discovery, recording and preservation of archaeological
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